1: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1954 AE9 Monguor AE9

624 175 eldest son, succeeding as the new T'u-ssu by right of being the first born, had a distinguishing privilege. The land taxes due to him (in the form of grain) had to be brought to his mansion, while the junior houses had themselves to collect the taxes from the villages assigned to them.

624 651 175 578 At the beginning of the Ming dynasty, when the houses were first established, the tax revenues must have provided a comfortable living for each house, and it is probable that they needed no other income to live at leisure, at the expense of the commoners. After a few generations, however, as the descendants of each house became more and more numerous, the collection of taxes became increasingly a problem. Divided and subdivided claims to a share of the revenue became insufficient to maintain the claimant families, and were inevitably the cause of quarrels and feuds. In the end, claims to the right to collect subdivided fractions of the land tax became chronic sources of trouble not only among the families constituting the house, but between them and the commoners from whom the revenue was collected.

624 651 578 In some houses the constituent families agree with each other to take turns collecting the available revenue, but this leads to disputes every year and sometimes to fierce fighting. It is not unknown for two or three families to go to the villages, trying to collect the land taxes in competition with each other. When this happens, the villagers are angered and demand that the families who lay claim to revenue patch up their quarrels and adjust their claims before the villagers open their granaries. Those who claim a right to collect revenue, on the other hand, resort to various kinds of deceit in trying to extort more from the villages and to get more than the legal or customary amount. In such problems and quarrels the T'u-ssu himself is involved because by tradition it is he and not the houses who fixes the rates at which levies are collected.

624 651 563 The sources of income of a T'u-ssu are more varied than those of a noble house. The T'u-ssu collects the land taxes in the villages which form the portion of his own house, and in addition collects a number of special taxes which provide his personal revenue. Most of these taxes are collected from Chinese living or trading within his territory. When Monguors who belong to his clan buy livestock, wool, skins, or grain they do not pay a tax on the transaction. On such transactions the Chinese, however, do pay a tax, and so do Monguors of other clans when they engage in such transactions within the territory of the T'u-ssu. Chinese shopkeepers, blacksmiths, and innkeepers living within the clan territory pay taxes. Imposts are levied on rafts and boats on rivers running through the clan territory. At the diets or clan assemblies, and at festivals at Lama monasteries in the clan territory, taxes are collected from Chinese merchants. Payments must also be made for the registration of title deeds to land and houses, and

1: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1954 AE9 Monguor AE9

618 624 because he is backed by a group of friends. He succeeds to office according to certain definite customs of the clan. The chief must belong genealogically to the nobles who are descendants of the "founding ancestor." When a T'u-ssu dies, the heads of all the noble families, together with the most prominent heads of families among the commoners, convene to choose a successor. It may seem anomalous that commoners should take part in the choosing of a new chief. The way in which the lower status of commoners in the ceremonial veneration of the clan ancestor is emphasized has already been described. There is a social inequality between commoners and nobles that can never be completely eliminated. Nevertheless, in the last years of the history of the old Monguor society the differences between nobles and commoners had in many ways practically ceased to exist. The heads of prominent commoner families took part in all meetings at which clan affairs were discussed. In the Monguor clans, there were commoners who were wealthier, more learned, more honored in the community, and more proficient in administrative matters than many of the nobles. It even occurred that when there were quarrels among the nobles, distinguished and respected commoners were called in to mediate. It may be, therefore, either that the participation of commoners in the choice of the new chief represents no more than a condescension on the part of the nobles, for the sake of mere civility, or that there is a lingering tradition from the ancient times of tribal history that the choice of the ruling part of the tribe (now the Monguor clan) must be ratified by the consent of the governed part of the tribe.[13]

Examination of the lists of the genealogies of all the Monguor clans as they are recorded in the *Annals* of the Prefecture of Hsining suggests the conclusion that the first son of the first wife of the T'u-ssu regularly succeeded to the office of his father. If the senior son died before his father but left a living son, then this son was entitled to the succession even if he were only an adopted son. In case the senior son died before his father and left no male issue, however, the next senior brother of the T'u-ssu, or that brother's son, was entitled to the succession. In the family chronicles of the Lu clan I have found one exception to this rule, and only one, a case in which the first son of the first wife did not succeed, the succession going instead to the brother next senior to him. I shall deal with this instance in the study of the genealogy of this clan which I am preparing for publication.

618 578 611 When a T'u-ssu dies leaving no sons, trouble usually breaks out in the clan because each of the surviving brothers of the T'u-ssu is eager to secure the succession either for himself or for his own eldest son. In such cases, if one of the contending brothers has more influence in the community than the others, or is richer or more popular with the clan, he succeeds in getting his

[13] Vladimirtsov, *op. cit.*, 100. [p. 44a]

1; Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1954 AE9 Monguor AE9

618 eldest son chosen and appointed. In one such case, in
578 the clan of the Na T'u-ssu, four T'u-ssu of other clans
611 were invited in to arbitrate, and after discussions which lasted many days the son of a rich man, the third brother of the T'u-ssu who had just died, was agreed on and appointed by the clan.

175 According to the *Annals* of Hsining (ch. 24, p. 8) the
618 last T'u-ssu of the Ming period in the clan of Li, of the
578 line founded by Li Nan-ko, was a man named Li Hua-
611 lung, who died without issue. Li T'ien-yu, the first cousin of Li Hua-lung who had just died, belonging to the same generation in order of descent from the clan ancestor, and of the same house, laid claim to the succession. In order to put an end to trouble within the family, one hundred families of commoners out of the four thousand belonging to the T'u-ssu were given to the contending claimant Li Hua-nao, and consenting to a petition from the nobles who were his relatives in the clan, the Manchu Emperor bestowed on him the title of T'u-ssu. Thus Li Hua-nao became the "founding ancestor" of a new clan, with one hundred families of commoners as subjects.

618 Thus while the historical material seems to show that in most cases the choice and appointment of a new chief of the clan are a mere formality, there are also instances that seem to prove that the rule of succession is not always clear-cut, especially when the T'u-ssu dies without male issue. In any case, a daughter never succeeds because the clans are built on a strictly patrilineal family system with male chieftaincy. In this respect, as will be seen below in the chapter dealing with family organization, the rules of ordinary family succession tally with those that govern the succession of the chief of the clan, and the head of the family presides over religious cult practices within the family as the chief presides within the clan.

[562] [428]

In case the succeeding son is still a minor, however, his mother is appointed regent by the sovereign state, formerly the Empire and later the Republic. This custom seems to prove that the senior son, even if still a minor, has a specific claim to succeed his father.

There is a discrepancy between the Monguor rule of succession as far as it can be checked by historical documents and an ancient Mongol custom that prevailed up to the time of Chingis Khan, under which the eldest son received his portion of the inheritance while his parents were still living and moved away to live as the head of his own family; the next son, in due course, similarly left the parental camp, and finally the youngest son was left to care for his parents in their old age and to receive the residual inheritance. Under this custom, the original tent, camp, and herds remained with the youngest son, while the most distant related camp was that of his eldest brother, who had moved away first and farthest. Barthold, commenting on this custom, notes that Chingis Khan, during his lifetime, endowed his sons and other relations with appanages, and that Juchi,

585 /77 cont'd/
231 animals with neighbors or elsewhere; it allows only a few old nags
431 to be seen, which it does not even intend to give up.

It is at this moment that the little peculiarities of the race be-
[571 come apparent in all their crudeness. We have been able to notice
578] in all the phases of T'ou-jen marriage this mania for mutual exploi-
tation. /78/ At this hour one sees the two clans together, equally
avid, and each of the two, under the pressure of the moment, feels
itself united and strong. The voice of blood makes itself heard
quickly, brutal, demanding. It is no longer a question of civilities
and ceremonies, and it is not at all rare that the festivity degenerates
into quarrels and scuffles.

585 In this moment one sees that marriage among the T'ou-jen is
614 not a disinterested affair but an affair of the clan, of the community,
among whom the general good takes precedence over everything.

After such eventualities of a T'ou-jen wedding, it is natural
enough when one meets those who are coming from a wedding to ask
them whether all went well, or whether there wasn't some trouble!

Now one understands the importance attached to the role of
master of ceremonies. It is he who must prevent these difficulties,
who must judge when it is necessary to yield and how far the con-
cession can go. He must have the required tact and the appropriate
word which all will be pleased to hear. He will be listened to all
the more if he is highly esteemed by both sides.

585 In two circumstances this cry of the blood among the T'ou-jen
578 is brutal and terrible: at the end of the ceremonies of a marriage,
571 and on the occasion of the negotiations after the suicide of a daughter-
in-law.

The Pei family was giving a daughter in marriage to the Li
family. The Pei grandfather, known for his extraordinary cupidity,
had enjoined his master of ceremonies to demand the finest horse in
the Li family's stable, a horse highly reputed in the region. When
the moment came they demanded the horse, but the horse was not
there. They looked in vain at the homes of the relatives and neigh-
bors; the horse remained impossible to find. Coarse words were ex-
changed, and they came to blows. The festivity ended without any

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595 4. Position of the Concubine with Respect to the Official Wife

In theory the official wife is the mistress, she takes precedence over her companion, she gives orders in the house, receives guests in the absence of the husband, converses with them together with him, settles the thousand little matters which occur in the course of the day, has the right to go to festivals before the second wife... and after her death, she will have precedence over the second wife in the cemetery.

But in practice, except for her title and her precedence in the cemetery, everything will depend on the way in which she will be able to deal with her rival and command her husband's respect; if she is the least bit less talented than the rival, her superiority will vanish very quickly.

It is natural besides for the husband to be fonder of the young woman who gives him children than of the great lady who is sterile. The husband would need the tact of a master and that for a whole lifetime in order never to allow this natural inclination, which must cause jealousy in the official wife, to appear. The wife would have to have a heroic character nor to become bitter when she notices that she occupies only second place in the heart and the esteem of the husband when it is natural for her to think that she has a right to the first. Now, unfortunately, all T'ou-jen husbands are not masters of tact and all T'ou-jen wives are not heroines in the mastery of the heart. So it is rare that the wives get along well with each other. Nevertheless, if the official wife is in the least capable and the husband is correct, she will be able to take precedence at home and in public, she will be able to demand from her husband /109/ better clothes than those the concubine wears, she will be able to live with her husband in the best room, to have herself served first at meals [578] after the husband, to sit down first after him, etc.... When there is a quarrel between the wives, the husband simply goes walking and comes back when the storm has calmed down.

595 601 The second wife will call the official wife "my big sister," and the official wife will call the second "my sister." When there are children, they will say: "Call me the grandmother of the children" or "Call me the little mother." Similarily, the husband will say: "Where is the children's grandmother; where is the little one?"

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587 593 764 The conditions the family lays down are the following: the sons will remain the descendants of the dead man; they will continue to bear his name and will later be buried in their father's cemetery. The new husband will bring them up and feed them. When they reach marriageable age, he will buy them a wife, or he will give the family the required sum ad hoc; then he will be able to send away the married ones, who will provide for their own subsistence. As for the daughters, he will be able to sell them. Since he obligates himself for expenses which so many burdens necessitate, the family does not demand any compensation for the widow.

587 589 578 421 /114/ It often happens that as a consequence of misunderstandings and quarrels, the brothers divide up the property and debts among themselves and form independent families. When a widow of such a family wants to remarry, the family requires the new husband to recognize the debts of the dead man; and the creditors exert pressure on the family to prevent the marriage in case of refusal; but if they are lucky enough to be dealing with a virago who threatens to come with her children and live with them, the difficulties vanish, the debts are put on the children's account and will be demanded later when the children are grown.

587 428 593 In the case where the widow with her children has inherited several plots of land from her dead husband, the new husband will be able to work them to support his family, but he will not be able to sell them since they are the property of the male orphans /sic/. Once they are married, the latter can demand these lands and send their foster father away with their mother, which often happens; if they get along well, they stay together. If, on the other hand, the new husband has lands of his own, and the widow does not, he maintains the family, gets the sons married, and sends them away. If during the marriage the family becomes richer, if the patrimony increases, and children are born of the new marriage, the children of the first husband will receive the share of their dead father plus half of the lands and assets acquired after the second marriage. The personal properties of the new husband are inherited by his own children. If the husband happens to die without leaving children, his personal

2: Schram--161 M-4,5(1915-1920) 1932 AE9 Monguor AE9

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Chapter V

Runaway Wives

578
593 It is not rare to see the daughter-in-law flee to the paternal home after a quarrel at the house of the parents-in-law. In this case, the latter /sic/ quietly await the arrival of the son-in-law in order to hear his explanations. If he does not bother with the fugitive, the parents of the runaway woman get a go-between so that he may go to make inquiries. Since usually both sides are at fault, the go-between will come back to bring back the daughter-in-law in order to make her apologize to her parents-in-law; the son-in-law will accompany her to present his apologies also to his wife's parents.

The exhortations to the daughter-in-law are very typical in the sense that they are rather platonic, even fatalistic: You are a daughter-in-law, they will say, therefore you have to suffer some vexations, even some humiliations; but know well that it is not for all your life; for the adage says, one is a daughter-in-law for only 30 years and then one is oneself the mother-in-law for the same term of years. Console yourself!

This running away within the family rarely leads to important consequences, but there is another kind of running away which is much more serious. Indeed, if repudiation rarely occurs and if divorce is not frequent, the flight of a wife with her lover happens oftener.

The causes of such misadventures are the great freedom of relations between the sexes before as well as after marriage, and especially at the time of festivities; the vexations of mothers-in-law, the /146/ unfortunate unions between young people of too different character, and above all the too great difference in age which often exists between husband and wife. The husband is not nubile and the wife is six or seven years older than he; the wife has begun by treating her husband as a child and has enjoyed authority. Later when the husband wants to take up his rights, then it is that the difficulties begin. Furthermore, the wife meanwhile has already learned to

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578 amuse herself... and has already had too many relations... one fine
593 day she disappears. This is the big affliction of the region. When a wife has run away, they immediately guess who her accomplice is; but it is necessary to be able to locate them. If the inquiries made about them are fruitless, after several days the son-in-law will go to his wife's family, pretending to believe that his dear better half is at their home and that he will find out about her return. This is also a way of informing the parents about their daughter's flight.

If after five or six months the fugitive has not come back, her parents require the son-in-law, accompanied by two aides, to go to get her at his expense; there is always some indication as to where she is. If they have exact information, they go to the headmen of the place to demand that they get hold of the fugitives so that they can bring them back home tied up.

684 Upon their return to the village, the village heads and the
627 members of the families of the lover and the wife are called. In the
681 presence of the whole populace, who very much relish this kind of distraction, the village heads begin the preliminary investigation of the affair. The case is examined to the bottom, and finally the lover is badly beaten and hung up by the thumbs until someone turns up who will act as guarantor for him. Then comes the woman, who is beaten on her bare back with leather lashes for as long as she does not manifest her regrets while adding good resolves for the future. Then the two culprits are taken through the village and exposed to the mockery of all; a herald precedes them, beating a drum and proclaiming their crime. It may happen that an indemnity on the part of the lover's family may be asked for the wrong done to the husband.

586 /147/ The wife goes back into the house; if she brings a child
681 born during the escapade, he is accepted into the family.

But it may also happen that the runaways are not found. Then after two or three years of vain search, the wife's parents demand a settlement of accounts. The parents-in-law then invite the parents of the runaway daughter-in-law, as well as her maternal uncles, the village heads, and several friends who are good speakers, for it will be a question of tseou che jen ming, i.e., "the indemnity (to the parents) for the loss of their daughter occasioned by her running away."

3; Schröder--79 M-5 (1946-1949)1952-1953 AE9 Monguor AE9

[45 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text p. 48-49 cont.]
"trumpet." Judging by the sign, however, this la-pa is itself a Chinese imitation of a foreign word. The Tsinghai Chinese have the designation pi-li for the shell-horn, but this evidently comes from the Tujen verb pilie (to blow), for instance, dõŋgẽ pilie = to blow the conch. The Chinese say ch'uei pi-li for this. Otherwise, the Chinese name for the Triton horn is simply luo (lo), and the conch-goddess taken over from Buddhism (Tib. Duṅ-ma, Sanskr. Mangala śankha) is called pao-lo t'ien-nü, "heavenly elf of the preciousness-conch"; cf. Pander-Grünwedel, Pantheon, p. 105, No. 294; p. 115.

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The shell-horn and its cultic use is old and widespread in India and the South Seas and has been taken over into Buddhism. The function of the conch in the Lamaist cult naturally cannot be explored further here. For an understanding of the Tujen custom, however, the following should be noted. The blowing of the conch brings harmony into the universe and [49] can release the hunger-spirits (Preta) and lead them into the paradise of joys (Tushita); cf. Pander-Grünwedel, loc. cit. Shells whose spirals do not run from right to left, as is usual, but the opposite way are especially valuable; cf. Ch. Das (p. 628): duṅ-dkar gyas 'k'il (Sanskr. dakṣiṇā varta śankha). The sound of such a conch cures sickness, and, if it is kept in the house, it pacifies quarrels and disturbances and guarantees harmony in the family. That

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4: Schram M-S (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

tainous country. It was inhabited by two or three hundred lamas of Tibetan origin, and had four colleges. The Abbot told me the monastery had been founded by a lama of Amdo, called Don dub. During the Yüan dynasty he had studied in Tibet. He was a learned man. The Abbot pointed to a stupa built on top of the temple and said it contained the relics of the founder. He went on to explain that Don dub had been the Teacher of Tsong khapa (born in 1357, ten years before the end of the Yüan dynasty) who started his religious career at Sha-ch'ung, and that the teacher brought his pupil to Lhasa when he was sixteen years of age. Then the Abbot led me to a nice building claiming it was there Tsong khapa had lived.[36]

It is not known what kind of monastery Sha-ch'ung was in the beginning; whether it was a small hermitage where a few unmarried Red lamas lived together or only a temple where some married Red lamas gathered at fixed times. The latter, depending more or less on a chief chosen from among them, scattered over the country, their pupils living with them, farming or raising cattle and performing cultural rites when invited by the people to do so. Important lamaseries could hardly have existed at that time, because of the disturbed circumstances. Even if Sha-ch'ung was not the hermitage of Dantig, built in 940 by dGe-ba rab-gsal, it certainly existed at the end of the Yüan dynasty. Two facts seem to support the tradition.

Sha-ch'ung in 1916 was a neighbor of the most important monastery of the Red Sect, whose Living Buddha, Goorongbzan, presided over a group of more than two hundred lamas of his sect. The same year both lamaseries claimed to be possessors of a strip of intervening pasture, and had a fight at close quarters. Many lamas on both sides were wounded. Ma k'o-ch'en, the Moslem commander of Hsining, and sworn brother of Goorongbzan, put an end to the feud which had lasted for centuries. He adjudicated the possession of the debatable pasture to Goorong, who produced deeds dating from the period of the Yüan, but which the former officials would never recognize because of the influence wielded by the Yellow Sect. This fact supports the evidence of the tradition according to which both lamaseries had existed during the Yüan. The old feud was rooted in the fact that Sha-ch'ung, which belonged to the Red Sect, later went over to the Yellow Sect, while the monastery of Goorong clung to its original Red Sect.

[36] E. Obermiller, Tsunkhaba le Pandit, *Mélanges chinois et bouddhiques* 2: 321, Louvain, Istas, 1934–1935. L. A. Waddell, *The Buddhism of Tibet or Lamaism*, 2nd ed., 59, W. Heffer, Cambridge, 1934. Wilhelm Filchner, *Kumbum Dschamba ling*, 175, Leipzig, 1933. The confirmation of this tradition is found in the Geographical work of Tsampo Nomankhan of Amdo, translated by Sarat Chandra Das, *Jour. Asiatic Soc. Bengal*, Pt. I, 1: 27, "Chya Khyung, the seat of Chhoije Tondub Rinchhen, contains his tomb as well as the residence of Tsong khapa."

A second fact is encountered in a publication of Ma Fu-hsiang.[37] For many years he was the most prominent official of Hsining engaged with Tibetan and Mongol affairs. Later, he became governor of Suiyüan Province and a member of the Meng-Tsang Yüan in Nanking. The passage from the publication states:

> More than 100 *li* southeast of Hsining, on the territory of the 'Ten Tribes,' is the Ami chü-lu mountain upon which was built the monastery of Sha-ch'ung which had more than 1,000 lamas. It was there that Tsong khapa had his hair clipped [entered religion], and remained for more than 10 years, starting his studies and religious life, before he went to Tibet (p. 198).

In 1906 the Chinese started digging for gold in the sacred mountain. The lamas, opposed to the digging, fought and two men were killed. The governor of the province ordered punishment to be imposed upon the lamasery with ruthless severity. Ma Fu-hsiang, being acquainted with the Tibetans, sought to settle the question amicably and went to Sha-ch'ung. The rebelling lamas and 1,000 soldiers of the "Ten Tribes" were determined to fight the Chinese troops. During the long period of discussion, the head of the lamasery repeated over and over that the lamasery and the mountain were hallowed places, because it was there that the founder of the Yellow Church had clipped his hair and remained for more than ten years. He protested that by digging at these spots the "artery" of the Yellow Church would be damaged, and the ruin of its religion be made inevitable (p. 190). Finally, as always in the Orient, a way was found to settle the case, by promising that no more digging would be done on the Sacred M[illegible]tain; but on the territory of the "Ten Tribes" digging would be allowed (p. 193). This fact gives evidence of the deep-seated conviction among the Tibetans about the veracity of the tradition and infers the existence of the lamasery at the time of the Yüan period (1280–1367). More traditions exist about monasteries having been built during the Yüan period, as related by the lamas, but they are vague and no names or specific places are indicated nor do ruins exist. However, it is not impossible that the traditions point to the hermitages noted in the *Blue Annals*. The building of the big monastery of Ta fo-ssu by one of the important T'u-ssu clans reveals the fact that Lamaism was a living entity among the T'u-ssu and their Monguors. Is it not too far-fetched to suppose that among the T'u-ssu only the Li T'u-ssu were Lamaist, since it is well known that the Ch'i and Lu T'u-ssu in 1644 were proprietors of monasteries constructed by them, although we do not know when they were constructed.[38] Besides, the facts that the monastery of Goorongbzan existed near Sha-ch'ung, and that in the beginning of the Ming a board of lamas was established, suggest the assumption that in Huang-chung during the Yüan period there probably must

[37] Ma Fu-hsiang, *Meng Tsang Chuang-k'uang*, Nanking, Chung-Hua yin-shu kung-ssu, 1931.

[38] *Annals* of Hsining, ch. 34, p. 3a.

[p.115(B)]

4; Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

Yao-ts'ao-t'ai ("the terrace of medicinal herbs"), Hung-shan-ssu, and three smaller ones. Yao-ts'ao-t'ai was the vast pasture ground for the herds of the monastery and of the lamas. According to the abbots, it soon developed to the extent of having 200 lamas. Hung-shan-ssu soon had more than 150 lamas and received from the emperor a special grant of 500 taels every year (the reason is not known; *Annals*, ch. 15, p. 8a). In 1747 the allocation was still provided by the officials. The Living Buddhas of the three monasteries told me that because most of their lamas were of Monguor origin, their monasteries declined after Kumbum and Erh-ku-lung had been built, and the Monguor lamas had gone over to these lamaseries. However, there are other reasons which caused the decline of the flourishing monastery of Ch'ü-t'an, which at present is in a state of indescribable dilapidation.

In 1509 the Tibetans of Kukunor, driven from their pastures by the Mongol, I-pu-la, made inroads in Huang-chung. They looted and ruined the branch monastery of Hung-shan-ssu in 1519 (*Annals*, ch. 31, p. 14a). In 1558 the Mongols of Kukunor looted and sacked Ch'ü-t'an (*Annals*, ch. 31, p. 16b) and the neighboring country; probably Yao-ts'ao-t'ai also. The Moslems, in 1862–1872, wrought terrible havoc on the temples and the palaces of the Living Buddhas, and burned the printing blocks of the library. In 1895 the temple was again looted by the revolting Moslems. Material damage and ruins, however, are reparable, but damage and ruin caused from within the lama institution itself are not.

The troubles started between the mother monastery of Ch'ü-t'an and the branch of Yao-ts'ao-t'ai, which is situated on the rich pasture grounds and forests included in the initial domain of the old monastery granted by the emperors. Very early, a couple of small temples and homes for lamas had been built on the spot, and a superior appointed. Around 1660, according to the abbots, more than 200 lamas lived at the subsidiary and more temples had been built. Its superior, a very learned and holy man, died and was reincarnated. His reincarnation was called Karang bzang and settled at the subsidiary monastery. (At that time the vogue for reincarnations was in full swing.) Very soon the mother monastery had its own reincarnation, the Living Buddha Mei, and four small Living Buddhas. The branch also provided a small Buddha called the Liang-chou fo-yeh.

With both monasteries having Living Buddhas, friction started between them and lasted for more than two centuries. Jealousy and hatred became deep-rooted. Both monasteries behaved like ducks, appearing calm and unruffled on the surface, but paddling like devils underneath it. The eternal question of the corvées imposed by the mother monastery on its subsidiaries and the demand for land rents kept open festering wounds, and the yearly disputes grew more and more acute.

[p. 23(B)]

Finally, in 1885 the branch declared its independence and claimed to be possessor of the pasture and farm grounds and the forests formerly entrusted to its care by the mother monastery. A serious fight at close quarters occurred in the mother lamasery.

Ch'ü-t'an sued the branch to vindicate its rights of proprietor of all the domains of Ch'ü-t'an. The lawsuit was carried to the Court of Justice of the Subprefecture of Nien-pe and lasted for two years. The Chinese officials, lavishly bribed by both groups, finally sent the lawsuit to the Court of the Prefecture of Hsining in order that their friends and superiors might have the opportunity to acquire some wealth and promote the cause of justice. Again, the lamas stubbornly spent their money for two years. Still unwilling to accept the verdict of the judges, the suit was sent to the Supreme Court of the capital of the province. Here the Chinese officials were very happy to meet the interested customers, and the gullible lamas started immediately to sow again, seeds of wealth and happiness in the gardens of the highest officials. For sixteen years the clever officials kept the wheels turning, encouraging both groups, exciting passions and stubbornness, promising to both sides a successful conclusion. The gullible lamas spent money, and the officials milked the meek cows dry. Finally, the wealth of the mother lamasery was exhausted first, so that the branch lamasery won the suit. The branch, during all the trouble, relied on the forests, sold wood, and was in a more advantageous position to "defend its rights." Throughout this long period the Living Buddhas of Huang-chung tried several times to spread oil on the troubled waters and settle the question amicably, but to no avail.

The loss of face for the mother monastery was too humiliating. At night its lamas went to Yao-ts'ao-t'ai and burned its temples; the next day the lamas of Yao-ts'ao-t'ai went at noon to Ch'ü-t'an and burned the palaces of the Living Buddha and killed two lamas. In 1905 the two groups, both bled white, agreed to have the question settled by Living Buddhas. An indemnity was fixed for the two lamas who had been killed, and because the damage caused by the fires was considered to be equal, the problem was settled.

In 1915 there were 285 lamas at Yao-ts'ao-t'ai: at the mother monastery there were only fifty or sixty, most of them children. Five hundred and fifty lamas had left the mother monastery, with four minor Living Buddhas, because they had been compelled to contribute to the expenses caused by the suit, and to fulfill the corvées imposed in connection with it. The administration of the mother monastery, in former times so flourishing and wealthy, was reduced to a minimum. One lama administered the property, a precentor led the prayers in the temple, and all the other duties were fulfilled by the Living Buddha himself. The homes formerly occupied by the six hundred lamas were inhabited by Monguor, Tibetan, and Chinese families.

[p.24(A)]

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

constructed after 1723, and rebuilt a second time after the revolt of the Moslems in 1872 (at which time the monastery had been abandoned for three years). The internal organization of the formerly flourishing monastery was affected by dissensions among the triumvirate, and peace within its walls was disturbed by the divided lamas, who had taken opposite sides in the conflict. The Chang-chia Hutukhtu left Erh-ku-lung, and more than one hundred lamas followed him. It was a severe blow to the mother monastery. He rebuilt one of his branches, called Ch'ie-bzan, to be his abode on the very rare occasions of his short returns from Peking to the country. He never again visited Erh-ku-lung. The seeds of a callous hostility between Erh-ku-lung and Ch'ie-bzan were planted and their relations cut off.

The three founders, however, were and remained the co-proprietors of the initial domain, monastery, and branches of Erh-ku-lung. However, each of them, by means of gifts and domains offered to them individually, had built up his own fortune. They hoarded their revenues or used them to found their own branches. In 1910 T'u-kuan Hutukhtu personally was the proprietor of seven branches. He possessed expansive properties on which he built seven villages. He also possessed eighteen oil or wheat mills. His herds of sheep and horses grazed in the Alashan territory and on the domains of T'ien-t'ang-ssu, his former branch, which by 1910 had become an independent monastery. Chang-chia had six branches of his own, eleven villages, nine mills, and very expansive domains. Sumpa had five branches of his own, and wider territories than T'u-kuan and Chang-chia.

The troubles had started not on questions of doctrine or liturgy, but on matters of finance and property. Chang-chia, T'u-kuan, and Sumpa clashed on the question of a territory belonging to the original domain, the status of which T'u-kuan and Sumpa maintained. Chang-chia, however, claimed it to be his property. Finally, the debatable domain was recognized to be the property of the initial domain.

Chang-chia never forgot this loss of face. The money granted by the emperor for the reconstruction of Erh-ku-lung in 1729 was insufficient. Nevertheless, Chang-chia urged that a part of it be used for the rebuilding of his own Ch'ie-bzan. This was refused by the other two and the rift between the triumvirate became wider and wider. T'u-kuan, however, used a large part of his own wealth for the reconstruction of Erh-ku-lung, which lasted for decades. Sumpa, with his own money, built the two colleges, their temples and palaces for Fa-t'ai. Chang-chia refused to make any contribution. After the revolt of 1872 and the destruction of Erh-ku-lung by the Moslems, T'u-kuan and Sumpa rebuilt the monastery. Chang-chia again declined to help.[141] Instead, he rebuilt his own monas-

[141] It is not surprising that Chang-chia did not print the works of T'u-kuan (see above, p. 31).

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tery in the most luxurious style. The head temple, with its gilt tiled roof, which had been preserved, was embellished and other temples rebuilt. He rebuilt a splendid palace for himself patterned after the most luxurious palaces in Peking. Chang-chia's Ch'ie-bzan was the wealthiest monastery in the country, with 150 lamas, 2 colleges, and 4 minor Living Buddhas. Most of its wealth was provided by Mongols, among whom the influence and prestige of Chang-chia was proverbial. 175 792 346

Every year, lama expeditions of Ch'ie-bzan traveled in Mongolia in order to collect alms. Chang-chia's prestige was so great that the Queen of the Torgots came to Ch'ie-bzan in 1913, to invite the intendant of the monastery to send an expedition among her tribesmen, for it had been a long time since an expedition had reached her country. I happened to be at Ch'ie-bzan in 1914 when the expedition returned. It had collected 3,000 sheep, 400 horses, and 280 camels, which were loaded with wool and skins. 175 794 648

The breach between T'u-kuan and Sumpa, which occurred in 1890, was more tragic. During the rebellion of the Moslems, Sumpa (born in 1854) had fled among the Mongols and Tibetans, north of Kukunor. He met with a Mongol girl, whom he had moved to his branch monastery called Sumpa-ssu. The lama community of Erh-ku-lung, after some years, could no longer stand the disrepute brought on the monastery. It brought suit against Sumpa before the Amban in the prefectural city of Hsining, claiming he was not a genuine reincarnation. The lama community urged that he be erased from the list of Buddhas, and insisted on the right to search for the genuine reincarnation. For several months the lamas disturbed the whole city with the scandal, and spent money. The Chinese enjoyed all the incidents of the trial. Sumpa lost his face and honor irretrievably. Sumpa, however, was rich and the Amban venal. The Amban finally proposed that Sumpa leave Erh-ku-lung and move to one of his affiliates. This reincarnation (the third) of the illustrious Sumpa, having cut a sorry figure, never returned to Erh-ku-lung, but lived at his branch where, in 1916, his two girls delighted the old age of their father, who was sixty. His eldest daughter had married the son of the chief of the Aruk tribe. In 1916 the old man made a pilgrimage to Lhasa, and the lamas said he was atoning for his sins. No wonder that the Li-fan yüan records lacked information concerning the subsequent reincarnations of the Great Sumpa. 175 578 792 [691]

The Living Buddha Ch'ie-bzan of Erh-ku-lung having a branch monastery of his own, moved into it, appearing at Erh-ku-lung only to attend the festivals. The Living Buddha Wang lived in retired seclusion. Soon after the trial of Sumpa, the minor Living Buddha Tsung-tsa, one of the eleven, followed in the steps of Sumpa and established a family in Tsung-tsa. In the winter of the same year, the minor Living Buddha Seerting was taken and beaten at night by the husband and 175 792 627 762

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old Li would not budge. The whole community was humming like a beehive and about to drive the old Li and his intendant out. T'u-kuan Hutukhtu was unable to pour oil on the troubled waters; the furious intendant of the community of lamas, in a flush of excitement, called thirty lamas, went to Hsining and brought an accusation against old Li. At the court the Amban immediately fell under the spell of the placid and respectable Buddha, bent with age, who explained his case peaceably.

The Amban did not allow the thirty or more turbulent lamas to return to the monastery, after they had, with vehemence and arrogance, several times presented their claims before him. He made them wait for the publication of the verdict, and while waiting had them live in Chinese inns, where they spent money every day, bribing the happy officials who would make their hopes run high one day and dash them to the ground on the next, thus making them spend more money. The Living Buddha and his intendant lived at peace at the home of his nephew, the Li T'u-ssu. He was acquainted with the most prominent men in the city, had them working for him and bringing small gifts. After four months the impoverished lamas became as meek as lambs and the Amban deemed the time ripe to pronounce the verdict: "The cauldron had been broken inadvertently. Because the community of lamas drank tea from the cauldron several times every day, the community should bring into his hands $800, and he would take care of the casting of a beautiful cauldron; the intendant and the board of the community should be put in jail until the money was ready." The epilogue of this interesting trial was that after a few days the money was reverentially placed in the hands of the Amban, the intendant and the men of the board were released, and the Amban had a cauldron cast—for $150!

The intendants are powerful elements in a monastery. In this case T'u-kuan Hutukhtu, belonged to the clan of the Li T'u-ssu, as did the venerable old Living Buddha Li. Yet he could not stay the hands of the intendant and the board of the community of the lamas who, incautiously disregarding the relationship between the two venerable living Buddhas were too quick on the trigger in resorting turbulently to the Chinese courts of justice, although they should have known the dangers by experience. The officials know it is impossible to talk sense into such lamas without first making them spend all their money and letting them wait for months at the gate of the court. The lesson given to the lamas is remunerative for the Chinese officials, but the lamas, stubborn as mules, appear again before the judges at the next opportunity, and receive the same lesson all over. Such is the atmosphere of a monastery and its inmates.

(3) Li, the lama intendant, of the Living Buddha Lu, supreme chief of the monastery of Yang-k'uo-erh-ssu,

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4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Mongnor AE9

was officially appointed chiliarch (*ch'ien hu*) [1] by the Amban, with the privilege of judging the subjects of the monastery. He was thus simultaneously a monastic official and a Chinese civil official. He had amassed a comfortable fortune at the expense of the subjects of six villages belonging to the monastery. A shrewd, capable man, in order to assure his position, he cleverly moved his younger sister near the monastery in order to have the young Living Buddha "acquainted" with her.

Lamas and subjects urged the dismissal of the intendant. The Buddha refused and threatened to accuse the three ringleaders of the rebellion, but the subjects and lamas went to the court of the subprefect of Nien-pe and accused both the Buddha and the intendant. Knowing that the intendant was rich, the judge examining the case put him in jail on the very first day of the trial, to make him understand that the roles were reversed. The sister of the intendant was called to testify, and the Living Buddha lost face before the people of Nien-pe, who attended all the sessions with the keenest interest. Finally, the Buddha was divested of the privilege of having a chiliarch to judge his subjects, and blushing with shame he received a lecture from the judge on the observance of celibacy in the Yellow Sect. The girl was ordered to move far away from the monastery.

The intendant, dismissed from his office by the judge, was released after several more months. He had spent his whole fortune, and had even been forced to sell his fields, cattle, and two oil mills. During the troubles, 70 of the 150 lamas left the monastery. This intendant caused the ruin of the monastery.

(4) The most beautiful bridge in Kansu is over the Ta-t'ung River, opposite the monastery of T'ien-t'ang-ssu, which before 1723 had had three colleges, two Living Buddhas, and 700 lamas, and at this time still had 200. When the supreme chief of the monastery was only seven years of age, troubles had started between the intendancy of the monastery and that of the community of lamas. Each claimed to be the proprietor of the bridge, with the right to collect tolls. The lamas, divided into two groups, became involved in the troubles. For twelve years both intendancies, accusing each other, moved from city to city and from one court of justice to another, and spent all the money of the respective intendancies. The head temple of the monastery was closed for three years. Finally, the Chinese judges having milked the cows dry, abolished the right of the lamas to receive the toll and took it themselves. The peace of the monastery was disturbed to the point that 120 disgusted lamas left. In 1920 only 80 lamas remained, some old men, but mostly children. The stubborn intendencies had preferred to wreck the

[1] "Chief of 1,000 families" is an official, appointed by the Chinese administration, who controls a tribe or group of people. He imposes corvées, collects taxes for the government, mediates troubles, and awards punishments. Although his subjects very seldom number 1,000 families, the title remains the same.

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4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

lamasery rather than accept any of the propositions suggested to end the feud.[3]

(5) I was told many times, by two honorable intendants, that it was the heated rivalry between the intendancies of the three supreme chiefs of Erh-ku-lung that had, in former times, caused the departure of Chang-chia Hutukhtu, the rift between the supreme chiefs, and the decline of Erh-ku-lung. There must be a grain of truth in the traditions of these experienced men who, better than we, understand the enormous influence exerted by the intendancies upon the Living Buddhas, and the jealousies between the intendancies.

(6) Most old lamas have a disciple who, upon their death, becomes their legal heir and proprietor of their entire fortune (home, herds, money, etc.). However, it is a noted fact that it is very difficult for the disciple of an intendant to inherit the fortune of his master. The old intendant of the Tenma Living Buddha, supreme chief of the monastery of Kan-ch'an-ssu, became sick, retired, and declined into that stage of life called "second childhood." His disciple, an intelligent boy of fourteen years, following the advice of his shrewd, experienced maternal uncle, Manguru, chief of a Tibetan tribe in Waza, subject to Tenma, secretly moved the comfortable fortune of his master to the home of his rich uncle. When the master died, Tenma, thinking like every Living Buddha, suspected that his old intendant had amassed a fortune at his expense and went immediately to examine his richly furnished home, hoping to find a colossal fortune. The floors of the rooms were turned over, the chimney broken, the sheep, cow, and horse pens dug up several feet deep, but no silver was found. Railing and raging, the Living Buddha drove into his own pens the 150 cows, 40 horses, and 600 sheep of the deceased.

The maternal uncle defended the disciple, and protested. After a couple of days the deluded Tenma went to Hsining with an imposing retinue of twenty men in order to accuse the disciple and his uncle at the court of the subprefect, of having stolen the fortune unjustly amassed by the intendant. The disciple and his uncle were flogged and thrown into jail, but did not confess to being guilty. After a few days the shrewd uncle made friends with the underlings of the officials by bribing them. He and the disciple were released, and thereupon rewarded the underlings by showing them the way to extort money from Tenma. After three years, the subprefect declared both the uncle and the disciple innocent. Tenma brought suit again at the court of the Amban, where it dragged on for more than four years more, which made the officials happy. They excited his hatred against the disciple and his uncle. But the disciple and his uncle lived in a small inn and

[3] Reginald Farrer, *Rainbow bridge*, 111, London, Arnold, 1921. Farrer was in T'ien-t'ang-ssu during the summer months, studying the flora of the country. He describes the wonderful bridge and includes a picture of it.

4; Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

Service for Prayers and Alms Collections:

A strict condition of service continues which compels the farmers of the monastery to invite the lamas of the intendancy, whose fields they till, to perform both public religious rites in the village, and private services in individual families. Lamas of one intendancy or monastery are not allowed to perform these rites among subjects of another intendancy. In the same way, when lamas are touring for alms among the subjects of their own intendancy, lamas of other monasteries are not allowed to tour. 792 571

The intendancies urge the observance of this service even by former tributaries, but it does not always work. The Tibetan tribe of Sumdoo, former tributary of the community of lamas of Erh-ku-lung, accused the intendancy, in 1918, of trying to occupy a part of its territory. The Chinese court, however, recognized the ownership of the debatable ground by the tribe. Sumdoo, having a grudge against the intendancy, invited the intendancy of Seerkok to perform a tribal religious rite. The day preceding the appointed day, a group of furious lamas from Erh-ku-lung, intending to assert their prerogative to conduct the service, arrived and started with the prayers. All the ladies of the tribe, engaged in preparing the food for the three-day solemnity, arrived ranting, panting, and cursing the lamas with feminine fury, and threw their boots at the heads of the bewildered lamas. The lamas, powerless against the infuriated women, returned to their intendancy. 792 571 578

The next day, when the solemnities had already been started by the lamas of Seerkok, the intendant of Erh-ku-lung arrived with an imposing retinue to assert his rights. All the men of the tribe vanished, entrusting the emergency to the ladies, who arrived with the same threatening appearance of the former day, and the intendant and his retinue understood that the relations between the intendancy and Sumdoo were sundered forever. This incident illustrates the psychology of the lamas in trying by all means to retain their old rights, even among tributaries with whom all legal connections have been cut off.

Repair of the Lamasery:

The chiefs of the villages inhabited by the subjects of the intendancies are ordered by their respective intendancy to send a fixed number of men to repair the buildings belonging to the intendancy, to chop wood, grind wheat, thresh the harvest, sweep snow, and build roads or bridges. The subjects are still willing to comply with these corvées. 792 466

Travel of the Chief of the Lamasery:

When the supreme chief of the lamasery makes a long journey, the chiefs of the intendancies order the chiefs of the villages to send a couple of horsemen each 792 484 651

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4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

is the most prolific in lamas." It is a known fact that of old the clan of the Li T'u-ssu was fervently addicted to Buddhism, and that the big monastery of Ta-Fo-ssu was built by the Li clan in Hsining during the Yüan dynasty. During the Ming dynasty a lama of the Li clan received the Karwa privilege, which still exists. The T'u kuan Hutukhtu was born in the Wang tribe, subjects of the Li clan. There are still two minor Li Living Buddhas at the monastery of Erh-ku-lung. In San-ch'uan there also live subjects of Ch'i, Na, and Kan T'u-ssu. Most of the San-ch'uan lamas like to enroll in Kumbum where the key offices are filled by them. It is a public secret that at various times friction and disputes have arisen in Kumbum between groups of lamas competing for the possession of the lucrative offices. As the outcome of this kind of competition, the administration of Kumbum is completely in the hands of Monguor lamas.

The next center of recruitment is the Hung-nai-tzu Valley, the birthplace of the first incarnation of the famous Chang-chia Hutukhtu, and inhabited mostly by Monguors and Tibetans. It is customary among them to have only one of the brothers marry, while the others become lamas. Their devotion to having lamas in the family goes to the extent of buying a boy for the monastery in case no male descendants are born. Several families have become extinct through lack of male descendants.

If account be taken of the number of monasteries and branches founded by Erh-ku-lung during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the fervor of the Monguors for becoming lamas must have been considerable. At present, this fervor has diminished to a large extent. Many families have not provided a lama for at least two generations; the ties which bound them to the lamaseries seem to have become looser.

WAYS AND MEANS OF RECRUITMENT

A lama, possessing some wealth, likes to have a disciple who will help and serve him to his dying day, and enable him to enjoy peacefully a ripe old age. A poor lama cannot afford the luxury of a disciple. According to the regulations of 1723, a lama is allowed to have only one disciple. However, when the rule is relaxed, rich lamas may have two or three; most of the Living Buddhas have two. The lama usually tries to choose his disciple from among his nephews or from among the children of well-to-do families, which later will help to support the disciple and indirectly his master.

The choice is made before the child has reached the age of seven. If the family agrees, the lama offers a ceremonial scarf to the father and a brick of tea to the mother. The agreement cannot thereafter be retracted. At the time the child is seven or eight years of age the mother prepares a lama costume for him. On an auspicious day he is led by his father to the lamasery.

175 792 [578] [608] [p.56(A)]

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

BEHAVIOR OF THE LIVING BUDDHAS OF HUANG-CHUNG

Some facts will explain this matter better than philosophical considerations. 792 276 691 157

In 1916 the Living Buddha of the monastery of Sha-ku-ssu (Yung ch'ang hsien), an old branch of Erh-ku-lung, was an inveterate opium addict and had ruined his monastery. In order to retrieve his financial position in an easy way, he called on the Living Buddha of the monastery of Nan-ying (Liang chou), saying that he remembered in all the minutest detail having loaned, five generations ago, to his honorable confrere of Nan-ying, three herds of horses, five of sheep, three of cows, and 300 taels, and that this debt had never been paid; because he was poor and his confrere rich he would like to have his confrere take care of the matter.

The answer of the equally shrewd confrere was that [696] he did not at all remember such an enormous debt, although he remembered in all possible detail the events that had happened during five generations. Thereupon the living Buddha of Sha-ku-ssu brought suit against his confrere at the Court of Justice in Liang-chou, claiming that his confrere knew all about the question, but that his pathological craving for money made him throttle his conscience and commit this crying injustice. The confrere reciprocated along the same line, exposing the opium addict before the interested audience; but because in China a rich man must always give up some of his rights in favor of the poor, the rich Living Buddha was ordered to give ten horses, and his poor confrere was able to continue smoking his opium for some time.

The reason alleged by the opium smoker should be well known among lamas and Living Buddhas. It was the same that was used by the Dalai Lama at Kumbum in 1909. In autumn he arrived at Kumbum with the traditional splendor of an Oriental potentate. Monguors, Tibetans, and Chinese ran to Kumbum to honor him. The Dalai Lama and his retinue were savage and arrogant; their animals were turned loose among the crops in the fields. Every day troubles arose over the sheep and flour offered by the mandarins, and the Dalai Lama, swayed by foolish pride and insolence, insisted on transferring three lama officials of Kumbum. Achia, defending his rights, denied the Dalai Lama permission to interfere with his administration of the lamasery. 792 157 578

The reason alleged by the Dalai Lama was that in one of his previous existences he remembered having been an incarnation of Achia and supreme chief of Kumbum. But Achia, without losing his balance, flatly denied the fact because he did not remember such an incarnation. Furthermore, he pointed out that the Dalai Lama was the incarnation of Tsong khapa, who was the incarnation of Chen-resig, while he himself was the incarnation of Tsong-khapa's father. He wondered how a son could behave so insolently and impudently

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toward his father, and he could not understand how the same individual could happen to be the incarnation of the father and the son. Then Achia talked to him like a father, telling him to be more circumspect and to behave more decently, for many tales were already spreading about his behavior with Tibetan women. Liberties of that kind, he said, outraging the Lamaist conventions, were not allowed at Kumbum. The lamas of Kumbum, breathing fire and brimstone, prepared their weapons and called together lamas of neighboring monasteries. The officials of Hsining (the Amban, the General, the tao-t'ai, and the prefect) were in a hurry, and went to Kumbum with troops in order to prevent a clash. Finally, in order to get rid of the Dalai Lama as fast as possible, they decided to let him appoint three lama officials and then to depose them after his departure. The Dalai Lama left, and the three appointed officials also left as quickly as possible for fear of being killed by the Kumbum lamas. The deposed officials assumed their jobs again, but Achia, deeming that he had irretrievably lost face, cut his throat. Several times I heard this tragic story, told by the Amban himself and by the officials at Kumbum.

The Dalai Lama cut a sorry figure in Hsining in 1909. The residence of Achia, destroyed by fire in 1895, was still not rebuilt in 1914, although all the materials for the reconstruction had been ready since 1909. The wood had been offered by the Tibetan Chief, Kach-htjir, and a contract had been written by the intendancy, promising Kach-htjir and his relatives the privilege of always staying at the residence, whenever they visited Kumbum.

Chao, the Living Buddha of Sia-mar, was a most celebrated man all over the country for his skill in patching up troubles, his unusual eloquence, proficiency in using the double-edged sword, of menaces and threats, soft words and blandishments. However, his influence lay in his cultivated acquaintance with the Chinese officials, to whom he paid visits and offered lavish gifts, and whom in due time he would use and provide with lawsuits that would benefit them. He was credited with having marvelous abilities and of being a powerful man. The saying went around that his special kind of intelligence weighed so heavily on one side of his body, that the soles of a new pair of shoes, after a few days, were always run down on the same side—the side where his intelligence was pressing the most.

He had obtained the office of chiliarch, the old privilege of judging the numerous tribes formerly subjected to his predecessors. He started abolishing, among his subjects, the smoking and planting of opium, with Draconian severity, and flogging and fining addicts of alcohol. He compelled the Chinese, to whom his subjects had transferred lands, to return the fields. Wherever there happened to be a festival, he pitched his tent and waited to render justice. Young women who had eloped and had been brought back by his retinue of

4: Schram M-S (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

Peking, Nanking, and Shanghai. He rides a bicycle, walks his smallest sons in a European baby carriage, likes photography, delights in playing a phonograph, enjoys working with electricity at home and in the temple. He possesses all kinds of medical instruments and gives injections. He is reputed to be very proficient in magic, and is the most talked-about man in the country.

RELATIONS BETWEEN THE RED AND YELLOW LAMAS IN HUANG-CHUNG

The feud between the two sects in Huang-chung never seems to have been as fierce as it was in Tibet, where lamas fought each other and destroyed each others' monasteries. The reason seems to be the troubled circumstances in the country. The people, the Red lamas, and their small institutions suffered tremendously on account of the inroads. The whole country was impoverished. The diffusion of the Yellow Sect, under such conditions, necessarily began on a small, unnoticed scale and when peace was restored the Yellow Sect was protected by the emperors and the Red Sect was powerless.

None the less, Reds and Yellows know their history well, and the embers of the old antagonism are still smoldering under the ashes. The troubles between Goorong and Sha-ch'ung, and the vehement protest of all the Yellow Living Buddhas of Huang-chung, when Goorong was trying to occupy the Ta-fo-ssu, give evidence of this. South of the Yellow River, in the subprefecture of Kui-te, lamas of the Yellow Sect recently prevented the Red lamas of Keura from rebuilding their temple. The trouble developed into full-scale fighting, and lamas on both sides were killed. The lamasery of the Yellow Sect was burned to the ground by the Moslem troops, who restored order. The Yellow Living Buddha fled, but the lamasery had to pay a heavy indemnity. On the north of the Hsining River, however, both sects seem to live congenially, because the Yellow Sect is omnipotent and the Reds are a minority, having not a single monastery in the country.

When the Red group of Erh-chia-ting near Erh-ku-lung built a new temple, the T'u-kuan Hutukhtu of Erh-ku-lung offered them seven big trees and sent his intendant to attend the ceremony of the inauguration of the temple. The lamasery of Chu-erh, of the Yellow Sect, allowed the Red group to build a temple on its property. Even the intendant of one of its Living Buddhas was a Red lama. In 1915 I saw Red and Yellow lamas performing rites together at the Karwa of the Yellow Chao lama. It has been recorded that the Yellow lama, chief of the Li Karwa, alternately invited four lamas of the Yellow and of the Red Sects to perform the yearly usual rites at his Karwa.

Lamaseries of the Yellow Sect invite Red lamas to perform the rite intended to appease the avenging spirits of persons who have suffered injustices at the hand of the lamasery. The secretary of the Living Buddha Lu

allowed in the intimacy of the family; he is shunned. He is also dominated by an inferiority complex, and accustomed to letting a wayfarer pass first on the road. He knows that he does not belong at the top of society, for during the empire, the Monguors say, no shaman was allowed to compete for literary degrees. Their profession was discredited in the same way as that of tailors, barbers, and comedians. The social standing of the shamans and the influence they wielded in former times are really beyond all comparison with their poor condition of today.

But do the Monguors never call the black shamans in order to perform their rites? A couple of facts will be recorded about Monguors who, in order to take vengeance on enemies, invited black shamans to cast spells upon them at night.

NO ENTHUSIASM AMONG THE MONGUORS FOR THE DUTY OF SHAMAN

It is a well-known fact all over the country that shamans generally have an aversion to their office and do not like to carry out their functions, but, bound by the choice of their father shaman, and knowing that a refusal would be fraught with all kinds of evil consequences, they discharge their burdensome, non-remunerative duty. The Monguors say that in families where there are no shamans, permission would never be granted by the parents and the chiefs of the families for a member of the family to become a shaman.

In the Valley of Hung-nai there are no more shamans at present. During the terrible Moslem rebellion, all the shaman families were exterminated. The inhabitants of the valley, afraid of the burdens attached to this profession, no longer allow their sons to become shamans. They prefer to honor the more lenient deities of Lamaism and have their sons become lamas. They invite shamans of other villages to perform shamanistic rites in their village every year in the spring and at hail time; the other rites are all performed by lamas. Shamans, however, according to their own ideology, assert that no more shamans can arise among them.

Several times I heard the typical story, later attested to by No Kuang-li, that when he was a boy a member of his family was ordered by his father shaman to succeed him. The unwilling boy was compelled to accompany his father at the performance of all kinds of rites, to learn the usual prayers, and to submit to the peculiar training. When his father died, the boy tried to get rid of the duty, but the family council decided that he had to comply with the choice made by his father. The boy's nerves were on edge and he went on a rampage; his health was impaired, his mind was seriously affected and he had a mental breakdown. He roamed for months in the mountains, shunning all kinds of people and finally was found hanging from a tree. After so many years this fact was still recorded and explained by the Monguors as being a punishment meted out by the spirit who had selected that boy as its

The feast is celebrated all over the country. The Kurtain is dressed by the lamas in a splendid, long green gown with large sleeves, cut according to the style of the gown worn by Taoist priests. On his back are fixed a couple of small flags, and on his head he wears a helmet. He wears a sword, and holds in his hands a bow and three arrows. He is costumed like the warriors often seen in the theatrical exhibitions performed by Chinese actors. 756 579

The Living Buddha Kortong, incarnation of the deity, opened the pageant in the main temple, sitting on his throne presiding over the ceremony. The lamas, cross-legged, sat in a circle in the temple. The Kurtain sat on his low Chinese table in the center of the gathering of the monks with his legs sprawled wide apart. The throng crowded into the forecourt, following the display by looking through the open doors of the temple. The lamas started singing in unison the *swork'a*, and the Kurtain shook his head, ringing his small bells. Becoming excited, he danced his furious dance, worked himself into a frenzy, and played with his sword, whip, and dagger. Then he ran out of the temple, shot three arrows in the air, drank a draught of ox blood out of a bucket and spat it on some handfuls of barley which he threw in the direction of the audience, who tried to catch them in the skirts of their gowns. These grains are supposed to cure all kinds of illness and procure fertility for the women. However, the grains once they fall on the ground lose their magical efficacy. [942]

Then followed the customary questions. The Kurtain all of a sudden again became so mad and wild as to unsheath his sword, and killed an employee of the tribunal of the subprefecture of Ta-t'ung, who was attending the show. The Kurtain fled after his savage exploit and disappeared. The lamasery was saddled with the trouble and had to pay a very substantial indemnity. This fact, well known all over the country, is always recalled when Monguors talk about the violence and ferocity of the possessed Kurtains. It is no wonder that, during the exhibitions of Kurtains in the village temples, some people are often frightened out of their wits, take to their heels in panic, and leave the temple.

It happens more often that the Kurtain troubles the feast of the spring, performed by shamans in the village. At the moment when the people are devoutly and happily listening to the prophecies of the shamans, concerning the auspicious prospects for the harvest, a Kurtain arises and furiously asserts that his spirit has revealed to him that terrible hailstorms will destroy the crops of the village. In the southern valley, in the village called "the Eleventh House of the Li T'u-ssu," in 1914, a serious fight started between the shamans and the Kurtain, who was carried away unconscious. The Kurtain brought suit against the shamans at the Chinese court. The prefect delegated the guild of the Taoist priests to settle this matter between religious people. 756 578

[p. 93 (8)]

The Kurtain was obliged to apologize to the shamans, offering a sheep, and also had to offer a sheep to the deity who protected the village. 756 578

During the exhibitions at Erh-ku-lung, the Kurtain was decked in a splendid, long green gown, belonging to the lamasery and fashioned according to that of the Taoist priests. He wore on his head the mitre of a Living Buddha. He did not wear his helmet or the sword; his appearance was less warrior-like and terrible than that of the Kurtain of Seerkok, although he seemed still to represent the type of Chinese theatrical general, with flags on his back, sitting with open sprawled legs, in spite of having had the Buddhist mitre on his head and the Buddhist staff in his hand when the exhibition started. Furthermore, the ceremonies were the same, with cypress fire, recital of the *swork'a*, drumbeating, head shaking with ringing bells, prophesying, whip, and dagger. 756 292

The lamaseries are glad to have a Kurtain, because they enhance the interest at the annual pageant. These yearly exhibitions seem to be the principal job of a Kurtain possessed by a lama deity. Once in a while, however, when troubles occur, when the lamasery is sued at court, he is invited to prophesy the issue of the case, but most of the time the lamas solve their own problems. His position at the lamasery seems to be of a very secondary order, according to what lamas say. 756 571

Later there will be described the role the Kurtain plays in the community of the village, and in the private life of the Monguors.

Among the Wu of the present time in China is encountered a category of possessed men and women who seem to be of the same type as the Monguor Kurtains, who are not admitted into the group of the Wu (as the Kurtains are not admitted into the group of the shamans) because they did not pass the traditional tests of the Wu and did not receive the initiation. It sometimes happens that some of them transfer their business to their sons.[3] Their original possession, their behavior during the possession, are very similar with those of the Kurtains,[4] sitting on a stool before an altar, drowsily staring, yawning, shaking the head, furiously playing with a sword, prophesying and expelling evil spirits.[5] They are called *fa chang*, "Chief of Magic," while the real Wu is called *shih kung*, "Master," or *fa shih*, "Master of magic." 756 171

My data, as given above, seem not to tally completely with the very valuable study of F. Dominik Schröder in *Anthropos* **47**: 27–33, 237–248, 1952, but they are based on notes collected among the Monguors, and among lamas who lived over practically the whole region, and may contribute to an understanding of the subject. 114

[3] DeGroot, *op. cit.*, 1263.
[4] DeGroot, *op. cit.*, 1274.
[5] *Ibid.*, 1276.

[p.94 (A)]

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

in front of all the spirits invited the day before, talking with them and asking for their protection upon the village. The guardian of the temple, acting as representative of the whole village, kneels behind them with incense sticks in his joined hands, answering and repeating the prayers. The rite lasts for about an hour.

Around ten o'clock a lunch is served to the shamans and wine is poured in profusion. All the villagers, dressed in their festival best, flock to the temple to attend the ceremony of the possession of the chief of the shamans by the White Tiger spirit.

For a long time the shamans play and have fun. While the apprentices beat drums and cymbals, they start dancing; they get excited, display all kinds of acrobatics; dance on their knees holding their heels in their hands; dance on their heads; turn cartwheels; keep whirling; jostle one another. They are stimulated to compete with one another in accomplishing the queerest eccentricities. It is not unusual for a couple to get into a quarrel and start fighting and for one or another to fall down in a fainting fit.

When the excitement reaches fever pitch, the chief of the shamans exchanges his cap of the god of the Five Roads for the black cap with long tail. With his arm nude, the whip fixed into the collar, drum in hand, he starts a wild dance which lasts for a long time. He stops once in a while and cracks the whip. He takes threatening and aggressive attitudes, brawls loudly and indistinctly, and grins, distorting mouth and jaw bone. With his whole body writhing and supposed to be possessed by the White Tiger spirit, he cuts his arm with a razor, making it bleed. The women rush to the shaman and apply paper to the wound. These papers are efficacious talismans for the protection of children, and are sewn on their clothes by their mothers. In former times, old Monguors said, potent shamans pierced their cheeks with an arrow and bent the blade of a sword predicting the future with wonderful accuracy, but today shamans can no longer do that. These rites are in line with the activities of Wū and shamans.[8]

GREETING OF THE GODDESS OF JOY

Around two o'clock the rite of *ying hsi-niang* is performed, the meeting with, and the greeting of, the Goddess of Joy. This rite is purely shamanistic. The Chinese perform a similar but more quiet rite, on New Year's day, meeting and greeting the "spirit" of joy. Monguor youngsters like to imitate the Chinese and enjoy the same merriment. However, the real Monguor rite is the following one performed by the shaman:

On the large threshing floor of the village is placed a table with offerings. The villagers sit around the edges of the floor in order that the shaman may have room for the performance and the evolutions. All the shamans wear the black cap with long tail, and keeping

[8] De Groot, *op. cit.*, 1212. [p. 109 (B)]

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

SHAMANS AND BEWITCHMENT

The shaman is the recognized protector against all kinds of evil influences and bewitching. Monguors are scared to be in the neighborhood of very old trees and Obos. A very old tree, it is said, is about to become a spirit and even a man, because the essence of the tree has grown out of its perfection. Thus, the very old tree of the village of Lei-chia-p'u in the Sa-t'ang Valley, it is said, takes a walk at night and harms the people it encounters. It is also said that it is very dangerous for pregnant women to walk in the village at night. The same belief is prevalent about old statues and about Obos on small passes. The shaman is invited by the neighbors of these dangerous objects to preserve them against their baneful influences and to neutralize their ill-omened forces. Lamas are invited by the people living near such Obos to read texts and do Wei-sang, hoping they will not harm them.

Bewitchment is the last resource for avenging injustices and outrages, which cannot be avenged by legal and overt means, and for doing harm to an enemy by a hidden means. Such acts are considered by the Monguors to be a direct resort to black magic, and in order to neutralize or to perform a bewitchment, they usually invite a black shaman, but it is not exceptional to encounter a white shaman doing the job. Bewitchment is, most of the time, performed in case of lawsuits for properties that have been unjustly decided, in cases of eloped women who cannot be brought back home, for presumption of theft, in cases of jealousy and hatred between two wealthy families.

In 1918 a Monguor living in the Lu men cheng Valley was sued at the Chinese court by a rich Chinese, and jailed for a few months. When he was liberated, he invited a black shaman who prepared some small wooden planks, on which he painted cabalistic designs with the blood of a white dog. The Monguor buried them in the cemetery of the rich Chinese, according to the prescriptions of the shaman. During one year, three persons died in the family of the Chinese. The Chinese then invited a celebrated black shaman to neutralize the evil influences which were harming him and his family. It happened that the celebrated black shaman was the knave who had prepared the planks for the Monguor! He told the rich Chinese to be suspicious, for a foe of his might have buried bewitched planks in his cemetery. He received his salary and went home. The planks were found. The Chinese sued the Monguor at the court of the T'u-ssu, because mandarins do not care for such troubles. The Monguor was compelled to invite twelve shamans in order to undo the spell.

Another fact, well known over the country in 1914 because a whole village and a living Buddha were involved, casts light on this psychology of the Monguors. Tjaar tseem, the limping chief of the village of Ch'üe-lung-ku, was sued at the Chinese court by Chao, the

of Hsining, 31*b*, 33*a*. *Sung Shih* 492: 14*a–b*). In 1065 Chiossulo appointed Tung Chan chief of the tribes. He governed 600,000 subjects. The emperor ratified the appointment in 1068, granted to the new chief the titles previously bestowed upon the father, and seized the opportunity to send Chinese officials to help him administer Huangchung. Tung Chan was a faithful defender of the empire. When the Hsi Hsia in 1070 invaded East Kansu, he attacked them, thus breaking the impact of the invasion. In 1081, 120,000 of his troops fought the Hsi Hsia at the side of the imperial armies. He and his wife were repeatedly bestowed with more and more honorific titles. The Hsi Hsia tried to persuade him to transfer his allegiance to them, but he refused the offer. Thereupon the Hsi Hsia invaded Huangchung and laid siege to his city of Mao-ch'uan. He raised the siege making peace with the Hsi Hsia against the orders of the emperor. He died in 1086 (*Annals* of Hsining, 31*b*, 33*b*. *Annals* of Kansu 46: 11*b*. *Sung Shih* 492: 16*b*).

Jealousy and hatred long smoldered among the wives of Chiossulo. At the death of the lama Li Li-tsun, the dismissed minister, Chiossulo, to humiliate his daughter, had moved her to Kuo Chou, and then a large number of tribes of the Li clan had seceded and moved to the southern part of East Kansu. In 1057, advised by her brother, she had left Kuo Chou and fled with her sons to the city of Tsun K'o, situated in the main territory of the Li clan. Chiossulo, in order to avoid more trouble with the powerful Li clan, appointed her sons as chiefs of the tribes of Ni-ku and T'ao and Ho-chou in East Kansu and the emperor granted them official titles.

However, hatred was already too deeply embedded in the hearts of the Li clan, and Mou Cheng, son of the second wife of Chiossulo, started trouble in East Kansu in 1064, conniving with the Hsi Hsia. The Hsi Hsia were defeated and Mou Cheng submitted to the emperor and received new important titles. At the death of Chiossulo in 1065, Mou Cheng, the leader of the opposition, followed by an important number of clans and in connivance with the Hsi Hsia, was again on the warpath in 1072 in East Kansu. More Chinese armies arrived, cities were taken and retaken, and the wife of Mou Cheng and his children were taken prisoner by General Wang Ch'ao. East Kansu was laid waste. Finally after two years of destruction, Mou Cheng with eighteen chiefs of tribes submitted to China. Again more new important titles were granted to him and even the name of the Sung dynasty, Chao, was bestowed (*Annals* of Kansu 46: 10, 12. *Annals* of Hsining 31B: 33, 3, 4, 5. *Sung Shih* 492: 14, 16).

The legitimate son of Tung Chan having died, he appointed in 1086 as his successor, A li ku, the son of his beloved concubine, a boy born in Khotan from an unknown father, causing forever the ruin of the T'u-fan kingdom built by Tung Chan. The emperor ratified

5:Schram M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Monguor AE9
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discharged his office with distinction until his dying day. The faithfulness of the Monguor t'u-ssu will become more and more manifest during the reigns of the subsequent Ming emperors.

MONGUORS OF HUANGCHUNG DURING THE REIGN OF EMPEROR CH'ENG TSUNG (YUNG LO), 1403–1424

T'ai Tsung, first emperor of the Ming, had appointed as successor his grandson, Huei Ti, an inexperienced young boy. His uncle, the Prince of Yen, youngest son of the emperor, revolted and defeated his nephew in a four year struggle.[74] He ascended the throne in 1403. He was called by the name of the period of his reign, Yung Lo.

Yung Lo, who must have known T'u-ssu T'o-erh-chih-shih-chieh, who during 1380–1387 had fought the brigands of the Mongol Emperor T'o ku ssu in Liao-tung, had called the Kansu troops to join his army. T'u-ssu Tuan Chou, who had succeeded his deceased father, went with his troops to rescue Yung Lo in 1399. He died on the field of battle. Yung Lo rewarded the faithful t'u-ssu, granting to his clan the name of Ch'i and giving to the clan chief a mansion in the city of Hsining, and posthumously bestowing upon him the title of Piao-ch'i chiang-chun (*Annals* of Hsining **28**: 13*a*; *Annals* of Kansu **42**: 44*b*).

T'u-ssu Ch'eng Yi also had taken the side of Yung Lo in his revolt against Huei Ti. He was rewarded with the office of Chih-huei t'ung-chih in Lu Chou (*Annals* of Kansu **42**: 36*b*). During this period more troubles occurred in Huangchung. Lu T'u-ssu Kung Pu shih chieh repelled the invasion of the Mongol Pu Yen ta shih in 1402, who looted the region of Liang-chow. The t'u-ssu offered to Emperor Yung Lo in 1403 the captured prisoners and a tribute of horses. He was promoted to centurion in Chuang Lang.

The same year, 1402, the turbulent I lin sheng pen revolted again in Kokonor and looted the region of Kui Te and the southern valley of Hsining. T'u-ssu Ch'i Kung-k'o-hsing-ch'i went to fight the rebel and died on the field of battle (*Annals* of Hsining **27**: 12*b*). The troubled conditions in Huangchung at that time seem to have been the reason why no more t'u-ssu participated in the struggle of Yung Lo against Huei Ti.

The new emperor had to contend with the tremendous problem of the Mongols, and this dangerous prospect was not bright. During the reign of his father (1368–1398) nine expeditions had to be launched against them. A constant struggle against the empire and endless dissension of the different tribes among themselves was to be expected. The struggle between

[74] In Monguors II: 16, 21, 22, are recorded the history of the foundation of the monastery of Ch'u T'an by San la, and the wonderful legends circulating among the lamas related to the mysterious disappearance of Emperor Huei Ti, who became lama in the monastery of Ch'u T'an, settled there and died.

5:Schram M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Monguor AE9
Historical Mongolia AH2

devotion to the empire. Emperor Yung Lo whom he had served in the expeditions in the desert had given him a precious sword and a famous horse. In 1425 Li Yin had fought the brigands in Anting and at the head of his soldiers had attacked the brigands and himself had killed many among them. He had captured a booty of 130,000 cattle. The emperor had sent minister Yang Yung to congratulate him. His merits were unusual and therefore he received in his dream a visit from the god of war . . . all these circumstances we have recorded on the stele, etc.

Without doubt the titles received by Li Yin, the building of the temple and the name given to it by the emperor himself, the stele, and the wonderful dreams went straight to the heart of the clan members and strengthened the cohesion of the Li clan. All these circumstances normally seem to have been conducive at that time to the building of an elaborate clan cemetery and to the erection in 1426 of the famous "spirit way stele" in honor of Li Nan-ko, the founder of the clan, father of Li Yin.

However, the behavior of Li Yin, puffed up with pride, had changed after he had been honored so magnificently by the emperor. The Governor of Ninghsia, Shih Chao, who had previously been Governor of Hsining, accused him of fostering subversive intentions. Li Yin could disprove the accusation. In Hsining he had assembled 700 families, fugitives from justice, whom he protected. He had settled them in the country and had given them land to till. But they harmed their neighbors, stealing and upsetting the country. Again complaints were lodged with the board of military justice, and Li Yin was ordered to turn over his tenants to the civil authority. In 1432 Ch'i Ch'eng, descendant of T'u-ssu Ch'i, T'o-erh-chih-shih-chieh, was his father's lawful successor to the office of t'u-ssu. The bold Li Yin, not bothering to offend the prominent Ch'i t'u-ssu clan, supported as successor to the t'u-ssu office Chien Tsang, the nephew of Ch'i Ch'eng, who was the son of his sister. He appointed murderers to kill Ch'i Ch'eng. He was accused again. This time the military judges rolled all the accusations into one, condemned him to prison, to the revocation of his titles and honors and to capital punishment. In 1437 the emperor pardoned him, allowing him a small emolument. Soon thereafter he died (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 47*a*; *Annals* of Hsining 27: 11*a*).

HUANGCHUNG T'U-SSU UNDER THE SUBSEQUENT EMPERORS

After the death of Yung Lo, (1424) the alarming confusion and struggle continued unabated among the eastern and western Mongols, both groups appointing their own Khans, who were merely nominal supreme chiefs and actually blind tools in the hands of Togon and A-lu-t'ai who controlled the two groups. A-lu-t'ai, weakened after many encounters with the Chinese and Oirat troops; was finally defeated and killed by the Oirat, Togon, in 1434; and the hegemony of the Oirats

5:Schram M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Monguor AE9

on his second ascension to the throne, and to present his offices in these times of troubles which beset the empire. He was promoted Tu-tu ch'ien-shih and somewhat later Yu-tu-tu, Governor of Tat'ung. Two thousand Mongols arrived and plundered the region of Wei-yuan. Li Wen defeated and pursued them. The emperor granted him the title of Duke of Kao Yang. In the autumn of 1460 the Mongol Polai started a raid on a large scale invading Yen-men-kuan and devastating the country. The officials in the capital grew very anxious. Li Wen, however, forbade his troops to move. He was committed to prison and deliberation concerning capital punishment was held. The emperor pardoned him, but he was stripped of his titles except that of tu-tu ch'ien-shih, and an opportunity was granted to redeem his honor by fighting the Mongols in the regions of Yenan and Suei-te (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 28*a*; *Annals* of Hsining 27: 11*b*).

What was the reason of the unusual behavior of Li Wen?

During the whole reign of Emperor Ching Ti (1450–1457) intrigues went on among the ambitious eunuchs and the most prominent officials, some of them friends and some of them foes of Emperor Ching Ti or of the secluded Emperor Yin Tsung. The factions seethed with hatred, accused and slandered each other, coveting the highest positions, wreaking ruin on their rivals. Many executions of high officials cast a blot in the reigns of Ching Ti and Yin Tsung.

General Shih Heng had defended for Emperor Ching Ti the capital beseiged by Esen in 1449. During the illness of Emperor Ching Ti, he hatched a plot preparing the dethronement of Ching Ti and the enthronement of Yin Tsung. Near Yin Tsung he accused his rivals and seven executions of the most prominent officials followed. He was bestowed with the title of Pilar of the empire. But a comet appeared in the sky. It was an ominous portent, indicating that the seven executions caused by Shih Heng were disapproved by Heaven. Shih Heng was committed to prison. Later during one of the brightest days it thundered terribly for a whole day, and one of the doorgates of the palace was smashed. Then deluging rains caused inundations in many provinces. Yin Tsung, at his wit's end, proclaimed an amnesty in 1458. Shih Heng could leave jail. In 1459 Shih Heng invited an astrologer to read his horoscope. The clever man guessing his client's meaning, predicted that in the Shih family an emperor would arise, founder of a new dynasty, but that he would have to act with the utmost caution. Shih Heng broke the news to his son, Shih Pien, for whom he had previously secured the office of Governor of Ta-t'ung. The young man, not cautious enough in his speech, let the secret leak out in Ta-t'ung. The officials of Ta-t'ung reported at court and judges arrived. Shih Pien poisoned himself. His father was committed to jail and ended his life in the same way. The officials of Ta-

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5:Schram M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Monguor AE9

with troops (*Annals* of Hsining 26: 6*b*) who, in concert with the t'u-ssu troops, exterminated the groups of brigands still roaming in the country without chiefs, and they induced the rebel Tibetan tribes to surrender. The commanders started repairing the cities, villages and fortresses in Huangchung.

In 1646 T'u-ssu Ch'eng was appointed commander in Chuang Lang by the Manchu Prince Su and given the title of Piao-ch'i Chiang-chun. At that time groups of brigands plundered the country of Sung Shan I north of Chuang Lang. The son of T'u-ssu Ch'eng pursued and exterminated them and died on the field of battle (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 36*b*).

However, the Chinese abhorred and hated the uncouth Manchu barbarians. Many among the governors and commanders could not resist the temptation of espousing the cause of the crumbled dynasty. The opposition would last for eighteen years before the entire empire would be conquered by the Manchus. Several times their empire met precarious circumstances, but party intrigues and jealousies among the Chinese divided them, and never could they offer a permanent united front against the conquerors.

The whereabouts of the heir apparent to the Ming throne being unknown, several princes of the imperial family arose in the provinces and tried to restore the dynasty. Prince Kuei succeeded in the formation in Kiangsi Province of a coalition of governors and military commanders, and the news spread like a prairie fire over the entire empire. Several governors and commanders in north China who had surrendered at the arrival of the Manchu troops, waited for the signal of the general uprising. A storm was brewing even in the remote northern region of Kanchow, Liangchow, etc. Two chiefs of the Mohammedan colony of Kanchow, Ting Kuo-tung and Milayin, started the revolt against the Ch'ing dynasty (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 48*b*). They joined the group of Chou Shih-chuan, a scion of the Ming princes, and enrolled as many Tibetans and brigands of Li Tze-ch'eng as possible. The Chinese officials of Kanchow and Liangchow followed in their wake.[88]

At the end of the Ming dynasty in North Kansu, Huangchung, and East Kansu, in nearly all the important cities and villages along the trade routes, colonies of Mohammedans were established, having their mosques and religious leaders who were obeyed and honored by their people. Meng Ch'iao-fang, conversant with this situation, informed the emperor about his apprehensions concerning the participation of the Mohammedans in the revolt. He wrote that an order issued by their religious chiefs would suffice to enroll all the Mohammedans of Kansu in the insurrection, and then he indicated the cities and villages in Kansu where the most important groups of Mohammedans existed (*Annals* of Hsining 26: 1*a–b;* 34: 1*b*, 2*b*).

[88] E. H. Parker, Kansu Mussulmans, *China Review* 16: 335, 1887.

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5:Schram M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Monguor AE9.

from wars and revolts, never had suffered as much as in 1723–1724.

PERSECUTION OF CHRISTIANS

After relating the successful repression by General Nien Keng-yao of the terrible revolt of the Mongols, Tibetans, and Lamas in 1723–1724 in Huangchung, something should be said concerning two Manchu princes, accused by the general before Emperor Yung Cheng, of having contributed of their own money to the building of a Catholic church in Hsining in 1723–1724.

This is the first document concerning the existence of a Catholic church in Hsining and consequently of a Catholic community. It seems unusual to see a general make such an accusation directly to the emperor, at a time when the conjunctures of war absorbed all his forces and energies (July 1, 1724).

Emperor K'ang Hsi died on December 20, 1722. His fourth son, Yung Cheng, ascended the throne in 1723. According to the time-honored custom, some of the brothers of the new emperor assumed an attitude of menacing hostility toward him. The Emperor Yung Cheng suspected his ninth brother, Sessaka, of being the chief of the discontented faction and sent him (April 15, 1723) far away to Hsining to fight the Mongols, Tibetans, and Lamas under the command of General Nien Keng-yao. Together with Sessaka two sons of the Manchu Prince Surniana were also sent, the sixth, Lessihin, and the twelfth.[94]

Surniana, a brother of the late Emperor K'ang Hsi, member of the oldest branch of the Manchu dynasty, had been a notorious governor in Liaotung province and was the chief of one of the eight Manchu banners. He was suspected by Emperor Yung Cheng of being a sympathizer and supporter of the Sessaka group. He and his entire family were banished to Yu Wei, on the northern outskirts of the empire. His properties were confiscated, his three hundred servants and slaves taken away, all his dignities removed, and he and his family reduced to the state of subjects. The wealthy Surniana had thirteen sons and sixteen daughters. Most of the these princes and princesses were Catholics. The sixth son, Lessihin, was baptized before he left for Hsining and the twelfth son when he arrived at Hsining. They were confined in separate houses and guarded by soldiers.

The reason for these troubles were the accusations sent September 7, 1723, by the Viceroy of Chekiang and Fukien provinces to the tribunal of rites, concerning the building of Catholic churches in the provinces, the customs observed by the Catholics, the large number of priests in the country, etc. The viceroy favored a

[94] The charge seems to have been based on slander. Lettres Edifiantes et Curieuses 3: 366–465, Paris, Paul Daffis, 7 rue Guenegaud, 1877. Histoire Generale de la Chine, De Mailla. 11: 373–408, Paris, Clousier, rue Saint Jacques, 1880.

5:Schram M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Monguor AE9

prompt prosecution and quick forwarding of the accusations to the emperor. The emperor sanctioned the accusations January 1, 1724. An edict was sent throughout the provinces on February 11, 1724. Probably on account of this edict and the connections of the Surniana family with the Sessaka faction, General Nien Keng-Yao accused both sons of Surniana on July 1, 1724. In February, 1725, both sons were ordered to join their family, already banished to Yu Wei. In June, 1725, both were carried from Yu Wei to Peking, bound in chains, and condemned to die in prison. The twelfth son died in prison after two years of suffering, and the sixth son died in prison a couple of years later. These are the conjunctures of the accusations against the sons of the Surniana in 1724 by General Nien Keng-yao. They reveal the existence of a Catholic community and the building of a church in Hsining.[944a]

175x 798 578

Recently in Volume 18 (1959) of *Monumenta Serica*, I encountered the very interesting article, "The Description and Map of Kansu by Giovanni Battista Maoletti De Serravalle," by Professor B. Szczeniak, Notre Dame University, dealing with the same subject.

175x 113

Maoletti was born in Serravalle, near Milan, in 1669. He entered the order of the Franciscans in 1689. In 1705 he arrived in Canton and went from Sian (Shensi) to Lanchow (Kansu) in 1710. He was chased from there by bonzes in 1713, and moved to Liangchow and Hsining (Kansu) where he worked until 1716. He had been appointed Administrator of the vicariate of Hukwang, but left China during the persecution in 1724. He died on the way to Canton on January 14, 1725. The report had been written by Maoletti in Hsining, where he lived from 1713 to 1716. Maoletti's map was made four to five years before the *K'ang Hsi* or Jesuit Atlas was printed in 1719. It is not a studied piece of cartography, but a sketch-map to illustrate a mission report.

The map and the description of Kansu and Kokonor at this date is the more significant, for only a short time later great changes were brought about by the Jungar invasion of Tibet (1717), and again by the terrible revolt in 1723–1724 of Mongols and Tibetans of Kokonor and Huangchung, and Lamas. The report is interesting for it deals with many details about places and people and the products of the country,—rhubarb, musk, and coal, silver and gold mines. (*Monumenta Serica* **18**: 294–298, 1959.)

Professor B. Szczesniak, in his very interesting article, also notes the work of F. Dehergne, S.J., "Les Missions du Nord de la Chine vers 1700," Archivum Historicum Societatis Jesu **24**, 1955. Both sources help to give a view of the mission work in remote Kansu during the period of revolts.

175x 797

The Maoletti report, following the map, is alive with interest in the Tartars (Mongols) who figure so prominently on the map, with the eagerness to further mission work among them, and with details about places and people. Maoletti's interest for the conversion of the Mongols is manifest in many places of the report. He is pleased to note that north of Topa sits a prince who is lord of Topa—

[944a] *Lettres edifiantes et curieuses* 2: 366–465, Paris, Paul-Daffis, 7 rue Guenegaud, 1877. De Mailla, *Histoire Generale de la Chine* 11: 373–408, Paris, Clousier, Rue Saint Jacques, 1880.